/360 cont./

practices sorcery. He is not bound to place and form and is capable of any kind of accomplishment with any person or thing. Vivid play of imagination is merely quantitatively and not qualitatively distinguishable from dream-sorcery. A person who kisses the picture of his beloved is preparing himself for sorcery. Anyone who throws a kiss through the air to his distant sweetheart is already strongly to be suspected of sorcery, for it is to be feared that he believes the sweet breath will reach its destination and be felt there. Anyone, however, who, like the great sorcerer Goethe, says to his amanuensis Eckermann: "I have in the years of my youth experienced instances enough when, on lonely walks, a powerful longing for a beloved girl would seize me and I would think of her until she actually came walking toward me," such a person is already practicing sorcery according to all the rules of the art. Completely under the spell of genuine sorcery is the person who, if his ears are ringing, yields to the conviction, if only for a second, that someone has spoken good or ill of him, or who has a friend keep his fingers crossed so that he will succeed in something, or who believes that his wishes have the power to influence the course of pleasant or unpleasant events.

Our Indians, like many other primitive peoples, have the firm conviction, which may, moreover, be observed on our level of civilization among children and intoxicated persons, and not only among them, that in a vivid dream they are experiencing reality. A person goes hunting, shoots fish, or fells trees when he is asleep, while the body remains in the hammock. Among the Bororó, as I shall report later, we once found that the entire village wanted to flee because one man in a dream had seen cormics creeping up. The Bakaïrí let the "shadow" of a human being -- which we then translate as "soul" -- wander about in the dream. (Cf. the Pareci chapter also for this and similar information /see p. 532/.) Antonio, whom I could study alone sufficiently, especially during the Cuyabá months, in order to obtain most of the statements which will follow later, had the fear, well known particularly from the Malays, that it is dangerous to waken a sleeping person suddenly. The "shadow," which is perhaps wandering

2 Boscan--607E,D-5 (1884, 1887-1888) 1934 587 Bacairi

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by ordinary means. This brings about the amazing reverse situation whereby the doctor takes medicine in order to heal. The more he can bear, the stronger he is. He knows all kinds of poisons that intoxicate and he uses them: tobacco, Aguhuridiku or (cipó de cobra) snake-vine, sulwi or timbo vine (Paullinia pinnata), the leaves of the finest tree Jetiko. Everyone listens attentively to the unintelligible stuff that he offers during his stupor, or to the strange experiences that he reports about his shadow after he wakes up from deep sleep(s). He becomes a great man, he enjoys the admiration and the gifts. Like many other great men, he first permits himself to be led to slight exaggerations and then touches up his own achievements when they are not entirely adequate, so as not to disappoint the stupid folk. Among the Bororó, a person who, at the time of the best palm wine, consumes the largest quantities during the sumptuous drinking bouts and, most successfully withstanding the intoxication, makes the longest speeches is recognized as a witch doctor; the concepts of the doctoral banquet and the doctoral examination coincide.

The tobacco narcosis of the doctor is the most common medicine for the patient among all our tribes, as well as among many others: the sick body is blown upon with huge clouds, at the same time it is spat upon vigorously, and in between it is kneaded with the use of all the muscular strength amidst terrible groans reverberating throughout the village, not from the patient, but from the doctor. This goes on for a long time, the doctor permits himself only brief pauses in the kneading, during which he laments loudly and at the same time smokes passionately. The cigars are furnished by the family. Finally he starts to suck and, with convulsive outbursts, spits out the cause of the illness.

The Auetó chief had drunk plant poisons, but he had not yet undergone the greatest test, taking snake poison, which was often done in "former" times. It is emphatically pointed out that the poison calabash of the sorcerer cannot harm the good medicine-man, but, of course, it is not explained how the latter can fall ill. The Auetó chief had already been dead. When the medicine

754 755 /286 cont./ But in the event the illness had been caused by another sorcerer, it would be necessary to find out first the vehicle of the disease. This might be a small piece of charred wood, a thin cotton thread, or a small piece of bone, tossed from a distance and thus introduced into the patient's body. The sorcerer would suck at the afflicted part, thus withdrawing the cause of the illness.

754 [114] [155] /287/ Our informants could tell us nothing about diseases caused by omeoro (evil sorcerers) mentioned by Karl von den Steinen. According to the latter, in order to injure an Indian, a sorcerer would cook in a pot a lizard into whose throat he had previously inserted the skin of the middle finger of a corpse. The agony and death of the lizard were matched simultaneously by the agony and death of the victim. (13)

13. Karl von den Steinen, op. cit., p. 442.

[114] [199] In our opinion, this method hardly seems to be indigenous and is probably the result of acculturation. However, our informants did not know about it.

756 [834] [262] 784 In order to become a sorcerer, a youth had to undergo training for a period that lasted from six to 12 months, submitting to rigorous sexual abstinence and an exclusively vegetal diet. Throughout the initiation period the candidate remained nude, enclosed in the kajoeti. Part of the training, meanwhile, was carried out in distant places, where the novice learned the healing properties of certain roots, as well as the secrets related to the supernatural world. The training ended with the acquisition, on the candidate's part, of a guardian spirit, or iamilea. This acquisition was made during a trance into which the candidate has fallen by means of the ingestion of narcotic substances. After this the new sorcerer had to prove his power, either through small acts such as finding lost objects or by curing a sick person.

[787] [206]

1.A Bonifacio Silva--13 E-6.5 (1967) 1990 SP? Barcon SP?

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satisfies effectively the cultural exigencies. The Bakairí lived in a world dominated by iamiíra and other supernatural beings. Animals and plants were nothing more than draperies which were used by these supernatural beings. The Bakairí himself was a dual being: a spirit, kagatupíri, using a draping, the physical body, animated by another, dreamy spirit, aeti. After death kagatupíri went through the stages of kadepo, a wandering spirit, and finally iamiíra. For this reason the Bakairí did not appear to be afraid of their dead; bodies were mere thin ventriloquists, but the kadepo were indeed dangerous.

712 182 In order to protect themselves against the innumerable dangers presented by the constellation of supernatural beings, such as iamiíra, kadepo, tapiehe, karoni, kunaguruvo, and kilisimo, the Bakairí used two methods. The first was seclusion, uaiki, at the most difficult moments, such as birth, puberty, (796) death, and shamanistic initiation. Uaiki was followed by the restoration of the individual /to the community/ through the tadaudiro celebration. The other method was shamanism. 756 758 182 Shamanism was open to all and it must actually have constituted a normal stage in the life evolution of the Bakairí. Yet few of them managed to become sorcerers, for the trials they had to undergo were not easy. Contact with the supernatural 956 987 202 was achieved by sorcerers through the use of tobacco or other narcotic substances. In their trance the sorcerers came to control the iamiíra and acquired the powers peculiar to these supernatural beings.

195 Finally, the post-mortem life of the Bakairí, in Nahoeri's large aldea, reflects as might be expected the organization of their aldeas. Once changed into iamiíra, the Bakairí join their ancestors and old friends; the pleasures of eating and drinking are not denied them since they also feel hunger and thirst, but they are now invulnerable to the perils of the forest. They can use the animals and plants, at their pleasure, as wrappers for their wanderings through the air, in the rivers, or on the ground.

came back to the village to play tricks on people. The Bacairi did not believe that the ghosts of the dead caused death and, therefore, were not afraid of them. They were, however, afraid of certain evil spirits—for instance, *enahpiro*, who caused death and sickness.

To become a shaman (*pajé*), a young unmarried man would train with an old shaman for a period of 6 months to a year. During this period sexual intercourse was forbidden, diets were periodically observed, and the novice had to abstain from eating meat. Much of the training took place in the woods, where the old shaman would teach the novice the curative properties of roots and herbs and, also, how to get in touch with the ghosts of dead shamans. The training would be complete when the novice acquired his own spirit helper, which was always the ghost of a dead shaman. Sometimes the revelation was so powerful that the young novice would fall to the ground in a trance. The spirit that then appeared to him instructed him how to make a *Bate* (either *anini* or *kenapiro*), which he kept in the sacred *Bate* house, and gave him a special tune by which he could always call his spirit helper. The novice had then to prove himself by curing some sick person or by finding lost property. If he were successful he became a recognized shaman.

Before beginning a performance, shamans always fasted for several days and smoked heavily. In curing a sick person the shaman asked his spirit helper for instructions which usually were explanations of how to remove objects from the body which caused the illness. Besides removing objects from the body the shamans prepared medicines. Headaches and pains in the body were cured by juice of the *pentiwa* tuber, and *twipi* leaves were used for pains in the chest. For healing the wounds made by the scratcher the juice made by boiling the *kwanatini* plant was used. The Bacairi also prepared aphrodisiacs from the *katsiwa* plant and by mixing *piqui* nuts, honey, and turtle eggs.

GAMES

The Bacairi played, and still play, a form of Indian football called *tsiepenaki*. The ball (*tsie*) was made by covering a round gourd with native rubber, leaving a small opening. The gourd was